

INCOMING TELEGRAM Department of State

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Info FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON
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SS INFO RUHLHQ/CINCPAC

G RUMNMF/CG III MAF

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H CONFIDENTIAL SAIGON 1387

SAL JULY 19

IO CINCPAC FOR POLAD

P

USIA CG III MAF PASS ROUTINE 31 TO AMCONSUL DANANG FOR POLAD FRANCIS

NSC CA ELECTIONS

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CIA REF: SAIGON 885

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1. DURING PERIOD JULY 9-18 EMBOFFS VISITED ALL 38 PROVINCES OF SOUTHERN THREE CORPS AREAS AND CITIES OF CAM RANH, DA LAT AND VUNG TAU. PURPOSE OF VISITS WAS TO DISTRIBUTE ELECTION GUIDANCE (SENT TO DEPT AS ENCLOSURE TO A-11 OF JULY 11) TO MEMBERS OF AMERICAN PROVINCE TEAMS AND TO DISCUSS WITH THEM APPOINTMENT OF COORDINATORS, MEANS OF COMMUNICATION, ETC. SIMILAR TRIPS NOW BEING UNDERTAKEN IN I CORPS BY OFFICERS AT HUE AND DA NANG.

2. TIGHT SCHEDULE OF VISITS DID NOT PERMIT MEETINGS WITH VIETNAMESE OFFICIALS OR CANDIDATES. HOWEVER, FROM ENCOUNTERS WITH VIETNAMESE, INFORMATION ALREADY ASSEMBLED BY PROVINCE TEAMS, AND LISTS SO FAR PUBLISHED BY VIET-NAM PRESS, SOME GENERALIZATIONS ABOUT FIELD OF CANDIDATES POSSIBLE:

A) SIZE OF TURNOUT IS IMPRESSIVE IN AREAS OTHER THAN SAIGON-GIA DINH (REF TEL) THERE IS AVERAGE OF FIVE TO SIX CANDIDATES OR LISTS RUNNING FOR EACH SEAT OR GROUP OF SEATS;

B) CANDIDATES GENERALLY YOUNGER THAN THOSE WHO RAN FOR PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL COUNCILS LAST YEAR;

C) NUMBER OF PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS ARE RUNNING. IN SOME CASES THERE ARE SLATES MADE UP ENTIRELY OF COUNCIL MEMBERS.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
REVIEWED BY: *Joan J. Aubrey* DATE: *10/5/81*
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-2- SAIGON 1387, JULY 19

D) EDUCATORS AND SMALL BUSINESSMEN ARE WELL REPRESENTED AMONG CANDIDATES, AS THEY WERE LAST YEAR. MAJOR ADDITIONS THIS YEAR ARE CIVIL SERVANTS (E.G., CHIEFS OF HEALTH, AGRICULTURE AND SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES WERE THREE OF SEVEN INTENDING CANDIDATES IN KIEN TUONG) AND MILITARY OFFICERS; MEMBERS OF BOTH CATEGORIES WILL PRESUMABLY RESIGN THEIR POSITIONS IF ELECTED. TOTAL NUMBER MILITARY CANDIDATES NOT YET KNOWN. SOME ARE YOUNG COMPANY-GRADE OFFICERS WHO APPEAR TO HAVE LITTLE CHANCE OF ELECTION. OTHERS HAVE GOOD PROSPECTS, SUCH AS ARVN LIEUTENANT COLONEL HEADING A LIST IN BINH DUONG WHO IS REPORTEDLY DETACHMENT COMMANDANT OF ARVN 5TH DIVISION HEADQUARTERS; DIVISION HAS STRENGTH OF 11,000. MANY OF THEM STATIONED IN BINH DUONG WITH DEPENDENTS;
E) IN SOME AREAS, PARTICULARLY SAIGON AND GIA DINH, PLETHORA OF CANDIDATES INCLUDES SEVERAL RUNNING PURELY OUT OF VANITY AND OTHERS WITH SOME POLITICAL HOPES WHO HAVE FILLED OUT THEIR LISTS WITH RELATIVES OR OTHERS WITH NO CHANCE OF ELECTION. SHRINKAGE OF FIELD IN SAIGON WAS REPORTED EMBTEL 1014 AND IS BEING REPEATED IN GIA DINH AND ELSEWHERE;
F) ROLE OF MAYORS AND PROVINCE CHIEFS IN ENCOURAGING SOME CANDIDATES AND DISCOURAGING OTHERS IS NOT YET KNOWN. FEW REPORTS WE HAVE INDICATE THAT OFFICIALS (E.G., MAYOR OF CAM RANH, PROVINCE CHIEF OF GO CONG) ARE SATISFIED WITH CANDIDATES WHO HAVE FILED, CAN LIVE WITH WHOEVER IS ELECTED, AND THEREFORE WILL NOT TRY TO INFLUENCE OUTCOME.

3. GENERAL IMPRESSION IS THAT INTEREST IN ELECTION IS SLIGHT IN MOST AREAS BUT CAN BE EXPECTED TO GROW AS NAMES OF CANDIDATES BECOME KNOWN AND AS VOTER REGISTRATION PROCEEDS. BANDEROLES PUBLICIZING ELECTIONS WERE OBSERVED IN SOME PROVINCE CAPITALS BY END OF LAST WEEK, AND LISTS OF VOTERS WERE POSTED FOR FIRST TIME JULY 19.

4. GVN ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SO FAR--IN PUBLICIZING PROCEDURES FOR CANDIDATES, CONVENING SEMINARS FOR OFFICIALS DOWN TO VILLAGE AND HAMLET

LEVELS PROCESSING CANDIDATES' APPLICATIONS, AND PREPARING LISTS OF ELECTORS--APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN MOST SATISFACTORY. LODGE.
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Department of State

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REF: SAIGON 1464

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1. SCREENING OF CANDIDATES FOR THREE SAIGON ELECTION DISTRICTS COMPLETED ON SCHEDULE JULY 22. IN DISTRICT I, SEVEN OF EIGHT LISTS WERE APPROVED. LIST OF COMPARATIVE UNKNOWNNS HEADED BY HOANG VAN KHAI WAS REJECTED BECAUSE ONE NOMINEE, PHAN VAN CHI, ALLEGEDLY HAD COMMUNIST CONNECTIONS. (CHI IS PROBABLY THE LABOR FIGURE WHOSE NOMINATION TO ILO DELEGATION CAUSED CONTROVERSY REPORTED EMBTEL 5046 OF MAY 27.)

2. IN DISTRICT II, ALL FIVE LISTS WERE APPROVED. IN

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DISTRICT III (CHOLON), TEN OF THIRTEEN LISTS WERE APPROVED; OTHER THREE DROPPED BECAUSE NOMINEES "LACKED SUFFICIENT DOCUMENTATION". AS REPORTED EMBTEL 1012, SHRINKAGE IN DISTRICT III OF THIS NATURE WAS TO BE EXPECTED.

3. THE THREE LISTS HEADED BY PHAN KHAC SUU, DANG VAN SUNG AND LA THANH NGHE (REFTEL) WERE APPROVED. LODGE

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FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON - CORRECTED PAGE 1

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JULY 2.

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

HERewith DANANG 29, JULY 22 SIGNED FRANCIS QUOTE:

POLAD FRANCIS SENDS NO 029 EMBASSY PASS HUE

REF: POLAD 028

1. JULY 20 LT COL TOAI, QUANG TRI PROVINCE CHIEF, MADE FOLLOWING POINT RE ELECTION SLATES CONTAINED REFTEL.

2. ASSUMING ALL SLATES ARE CLEARED BY SCREENING COMMITTEE NO ONE SLATE WILL GARNER ENOUGH VOTES TO ELECT MORE THAN ONE ASSEMBLYMAN.

3. SLATE I IS OFFICIAL VNQDD SLATE. ALL THREE CANDIDATES THAT SLATE ARE VNQDD. PHAN THONG, FIRST CANDIDATE, IS NATIVE OF QUANG TIN BUT HAS RECENTLY BEEN RESIDING IN SAIGON. RETURNED TAM KY FOR SEPTEMBER ELECTIONS. THONG IS WELL KNOWN IN QUANG TIN BUT OTHERS MEMBERS HIS

SLATE LESS WELL KNOWN.

4. SLATE II IS CATHOLIC. ALL MEMBERS THAT SLATE ARE "MODEST AND NOT WELL KNOWN" IN QUANG TIN. NGUYEN CONG LUAN, FIRST CANDIDATE, OFFICIALLY LISTED AS BUSINESSMAN BUT IS REALLY A POLICEMAN. THIS SLATE WAS PUT TOGETHER BY CATHOLIC CHURCH.

5. SLATE III IS MILITARY. TON THAT UAN, FIRST CANDIDATE, IS CAPTAIN ARVN. HE IS AN ORDINANCE ENGINEER BORN IN HUE AND RECENTLY SERVING IN BKNANG. NONE OF THIS SLATE FROM QUANG TIN AND INDIVIDUALS ARE NOT WELL KNOWN IN PROVINCE.

6. SLATE IV IS OFFICIALLY INDEPENDENT COMPOSED OF THREE CAO DAI. TRAN CON DINH, FIRST CANDIDATE, IS ALSO, HOWEVER, VNQDD MEMBER AND CHAIRMAN QUANG TIN PROVINCIAL COUNCIL. HIS NUMBER TWO CANDIDATE, NGUYEN MINH DAO, IS LIKEWISE MEMBER VNQDD AND PROVINCIAL COUNCIL. THIRD MAN IS BELIEVED BE VNQDD SYMPATHIZER BUT IS LESS PROMINENT THAN FIRST TWO MEMBERS THAT SLATE.

7. ONLY SLATE PROVINCE CHIEF THINGS MAY POSSIBLE RUN INTO TROUBLE WITH SCREENING COMMITTEE IS SLATE I. TOAI SAID PHAN THONG IS EX-MASTER SERGEANT OFFICIALLY LISTED AS DESERTER. PHAN THONG IS, HOWEVER, SUPPOSED POSSESS "PAPERS" WHICH CLEAR HIM OF THIS CHARGE.

3. PROVINCE CHIEF BELIEVES FOLLOWING THREE MEN WILL BE ELECTED TO

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-2- SAIGON 1646, JUL 22.

QUANG TIN SEATS IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY:

- (A) PHAN THONG (VNQDD)
- (B) TRAN CONG DINH (VNQDD)
- (C) TON THAT UAN (MILITARY)

9. NO QUANG TIN SLATE HAS ALTERNATE CANDIDATE. IF PHAN THONG WERE UNABLE RUN, TOAI SAID SLATE I WOULD BE DISQUALIFIED UNLESS OTHER THREE SLATES UNANIMOUSLY AGREED ALLOW SLATE I PUT UP NEW THIRD MEMBER. IF THEY AGREED, NEW FIRST CANDIDATE SLATE I WOULD AUTOMATICALLY BE PRESENT NUMBER TWO, PHAN NHU TOAN.

10. ASSUMING PHAN THONG OUT, PROVINCE CHIEF BELIEVES SLATE IV WOULD RECEIVE ENOUGH VOTES TO ELECT TWO ASSEMBLYMEN AND NGUYEN MINH DAO (VNQDD) WOULD BE THIRD MAN CHOSEN IN SEPTEMBER.

11. COMMENT: KNOWLEDGEABLE AMERICAN OBSERVES QUANG TIN TEND CONCUR WITH PROVINCE CHIEF THAT VNQDD WILL OBTAIN TWO OF THREE SEATS AT ISSUE IN PROVINCE. SEEMS TO BE SOME EVIDENCE, HOWEVER, THAT THIRD SEAT NOT AS CUT AND DRIED AS TOAI OUTLINED ABOVE. TOAI BELIEVES VNQDD IS SUPPORTING MILITARY CANDIDATE FOR THIRD SEAT. SOME VNQDD SOURCES SAY THAT PARTY IS

COOPERATING WITH CATHOLICS AND NGUYEN CONG LUAN, FIRST CANDIDATE SLATE II, WILL BE THIRD MAN ELECTED IN SEPTEMBER.

12. ON JULY 16 TAM KY WAS SCENE OF WHAT MAY BE FIRST ANTI-ELECTION ACTION BY COMMUNISTS IN THIS AREA. THAT DATE VIET CONG ATTACKED VNQDD HEADQUARTERS KILLING NUMBER OF PARTY MEMBERS. IT IS CLEAR THAT THEY WERE AFTER PARTY LEADERSHIP AND APPEARS TO AMERICAN OBSERVERS VERY PROBABLE THIS WAS CONNECTED WITH FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS. LEADING VNQDD CANDIDATE, PHAN THONG, LOST BOTH LEGS AS RESULT THIS ATTACK. HE HAS SUBSEQUENTLY HOWEVER, SENT WORD FROM HOSPITAL TO PROVINCE CHIEF THAT HE WILL NOT BE COUNTED OUT. HE INTENDS TO RUN AS SCHEDULED.

POLAD FRANCIS
GP-3 UNQUOTE LODGE
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(*) AS RECEIVED, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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CONFIDENTIAL SAIGON 1754

L I M D I S

JULY 23

1. DURING COURSE OF LUNCHEON CONVERSATION WITH KISSINGER TODAY BUI DIEM, SECSTATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, REPORTED THAT ELECTORAL SLATES HEADED BY FORMER CHIEF OF STATE PHAN KHAC SUU AND INFLUENTIAL PUBLISHER DANG VAN SUNG HAD BOTH BEEN SAVED FROM DISQUALIFICATION BY GOVERNMENT'S INTERVENTION. IN CASE OF EACH, THERE HAD BEEN PROCEDURAL REASONS FOR DISQUALIFYING -- LACK OF EXTRAIT DE CASIER JUDICIAIRE IN ONE AND LACK OF NOTARIZED SIGNATURE IN OTHER -- BUT PRIMIN HAD ORDERED THAT LISTS BE ACCEPTED. DIEM SAID THAT THIS INTERVENTION COULD RESULT IN EMBARRASSMENT FOR KY IF IT BECAME KNOWN BY REGIMES'S CRITICS. HOWEVER, KY HAD DECIDED TO TAKE THE RISK IN

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ORDER TO SAVE THE CANDIDACIES OF THESE WELL KNOWN, PRESTIGIOUS FIGURES.

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2. ON GENERAL SUBJECT OF ELECTIONS, BUI DIEM SAID THAT GOVERNMENT WAS DETERMINED THAT THEY BE AS WELL-RUN AND HONEST AS POSSIBLE. HE SAID THAT SOMETIMES PROVINCIAL OFFICIALS BECAME OVER-ZEALOUS ON BEHALF OF GOVERNMENT AT ELECTION TIME IN VIETNAM. TO OFFSET THIS TENDENCY, GVN WILL CONVOKE PROVINCE CHIEFS FOR SEMINAR IN SAIGON WEEK OF JULY 24 TO ACQUAINT THEM WITH NECESSITY FOR BEING SCRUPULOUSLY FAIR IN THEIR ADMINISTRATION OF ELECTIONS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE PROVINCES. PRESS WILL BE INVITED TO OBSERVE THIS SEMINAR.

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SAIGON 1754

REF ID: A66130

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-2- SAIGON 1754, JULY 23

3. DIEM SAID THAT ON RECENT HOLIDAY IN DALAT HE HAD DISCOVERED THAT DEPUTY PROVINCE CHIEF FOR SECURITY HAD PRESENTED HIS CANDIDACY, WHICH IS CONTRARY TO REGULATIONS. HE REPORTED FINDING TO KY AND OBTAINED HIS DISQUALIFICATION.

4. COMMENT: DIEM'S REMARKS WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE THAT SOMEONE IN GVN CONCERNED ABOUT IRREGULARITIES IN CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS AND IMPORTANT DAMAGE SUCH INCIDENTS CAN DO TO FAVORABLE INTERNATIONAL IMAGE GOVERNMENT MIGHT HOPE TO PROJECT AS RESULT OF THESE ELECTIONS. LODGE
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SAIGON 1783

JULY 24

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

CG III MAF PASS AMCONSUL DANANG 45 FOR POLAD FRANCIS

SUBJ: ELECTIONS

1. DIRECTORATE CHAIRMAN GENERAL NGUYEN VN THIEU HAS SIGNED DECREE-LAW 022/66 DATED JULY 19, 1966 FIXING PROCEDURES FOR ELECTION MONTAGNARD CANDIDATES FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. WE KNOW MOST BUT NOT ALL ESSENTIALS OF DECREE.

2. NINE SEATS ARE RESERVED FOR VIETNAMESE OF TRIBAL DESCENT: SIX FOR MONTAGNARDS FROM SOUTH VIETNAM, TWO FOR NORTH VIETNAMESE MONTAGNARD REFUGEES, ONE FOR CHAM. PROVINCES OF DARLAC, PLEIKU, KONTUM, PHU BON

AND QUANG NGAI WILL EACH HAVE ONE DEPUTY OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE MONTAGNARD ORIGIN; PROVINCE OF TUYEN DUC WILL HAVE ONE SOUTH VIETNAMESE AND ONE NORTH VIETNAMESE MONTAGNARD; BINH THUAN PROVINCE WILL HAVE ONE NORTH VIETNAMESE MONTAGNARD; NINH THUAN WILL HAVE DEPUTY OF CHAM ORIGIN.

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-2-Saigon 1783, July 24

3. DEPUTIES WILL BE ELECTED INDIRECTLY. IN EACH PROVINCE LISTED IN PARA 2 THERE WILL BE PRELIMINARY ELECTION IN WHICH ONE REPRESENTATIVE OR ELECTOR WILL BE ELECTED FOR EVERY 100 REGISTERED TRIBAL VOTERS. ON OR AS SHORTLY AFTER SEPT 11 AS POSSIBLE THE ELECTORS FROM EACH PROVINCE WILL MEET IN PROVINCE CAPITAL AND ELECT DEPUTY OR DEPUTIES TO WHICH PROVINCE IS ENTITLED.

4. ONE PROVISION CONTAINED IN NEW DECREE LAW AUTHORIZES MEMBERS OF FULRO WHO HAVE SIGNIFIED INTENTION BECOME LOYAL VIETNAMESE CITIZENS TO PRESENT THEIR CANDIDACIES, PROVIDED THEY HAVE ASSUMED RESIDENCE IN GVN-CONTROLLED AREA PRIOR TO AUGUST 15. THIS IS IN KEEPING WITH JULY 3 SPEECH BY PRIME MINISTER KY DELIVERED AT GRADUATION CEREMONY FOR MONTAGNARD TRUONG SON CADRE

AT FLEIKU TRAINING CENTER. KY EXPRESSED HOPE THAT "IN FUTURE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY THERE WOULD BE DELEGATES OF FULRO BROTHERS." ALL HIGHLAND PROVINCE CHIEFS HAVE BEEN NOTIFIED INDIVIDUALLY OF THIS GVN DECISION.

5. TRIBAL CANDIDATES HAVE APPARENTLY NOT YET FILED. WE WILL KNOW MORE ABOUT THIS ONCE WE HAVE OBTAINED A COPY OF DECREE. LODGE
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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION ONE OF TWO SAIGON 1882

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JULY 25

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

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CG III MAF PASS AMCONSUL DANANG 47 FOR POLAD FRANCIS

CIA

REF: STATE 13567

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SUBJ: CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION

AID

RSR

1. FOLLOWING IS ANALYSIS OF CANDIDACIES FOR CA SEATS IN I CORPS, SAIGON AND GIA DINH (WHICH HAVE COMBINED TOTAL OF 43 SEATS). WE DO NOT YET HAVE SUFFICIENT DATA TO PERMIT COMPARABLE ANALYSIS OF CANDIDATES IN II, III OR IV CORPS.

2. CANDIDATES (PRE-SCREENING, EXCEPT IN THE CASE OF SAIGON)

	TOTAL	ACTIVE MILITARY	CIVIL SERVICE
I CORPS CANDIDATES	88	13	14
I CORPS ALTERNATES	5	0	2
TOTAL:	93	13	16
SAIGON CANDIDATES	115	6	8
SAIGON ALTERNATES	23	0	2
TOTAL:	138	6	10
GIA DINH CANDIDATES	76	10	8
GIA DINH ALTERNATES	21	1	0
TOTAL:	97	11	8

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-2-Saigon 1786, July 24.

5. LOOKED AT FROM HERE, IT SEEMS IMPRUDENT TO RULE ~~BY~~
OUT AS EARLY AS THIS--JUST AS IT WOULD SEEM IMPRUDENT
TO COMMIT OURSELVES TO ANYONE AS EARLY AS THIS.

6. WHEN I LOOK INTO THE FUTURE, I VISUALIZE THE ADOPTION OF
A CONSTITUTION WHICH PROVIDES FOR A STRONG U.S. TYPE PRESIDENT.
FRANKLY I SEE NO ONE WHO IS AS READY TO FILL THIS JOB AND
WHO IS READY TO RUN AS PRIME MINISTER KY, WITH ALL HIS SHORT-
COMINGS. I SUPPOSE THAT GENERAL DON WOULD BE A POSSIBILITY.
I OMIT GENERAL THIEU, WHO HAS THE QUALIFICATIONS, BUT BELONGS
TO WHAT IS VERY MUCH A CONTROVERSIVE GROUP. I OMIT BIG
MINH WHO IS IN BANGKOK, WHO PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED
BACK, AND IF HE WAS, HE WOULD PROBABLY BE TOO LAZY TO PUT ON
A REAL CAMPAIGN. THERE MAY BE ONE OR TWO CIVILIANS, BUT THEY
ALL LOOK PRETTY HAZY JUST NOW. GP-3. LODGE
BT

Advance copy to S/S-O at 11:07 a.m. 7/24/66
Passed to DOD & White House per S/S-O 7/24/66

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-2- SECTION ONE OF TWO SAIGON 1882, JULY 25

3. I CORPS (PRE-SCREENING). THERE ARE 17 SEATS AND STAKE AND 88 CANDIDATES, DIVIDED AS FOLLOWS: DANANG, SEVEN LISTS OF TWO NAMES EACH FOR TWO SEATS; HUE, THREE CANDIDATES FOR THE SINGLE SEAT; QUANG NAM, SIX LISTS OF TWO EACH FOR THE TWO SEATS; QUANG NGAI, SEVEN LISTS OF FOUR EACH FOR FOUR SEATS; QUANG TRI, FIVE LISTS OF TWO EACH FOR TWO SEATS; AND THUA THIEN, THREE LISTS OF THREE EACH FOR THREE SEATS.

4. THE MOST SALIENT FEATURE IN I CORPS IS THAT ALMOST NO CANDIDATES IDENTIFIED WITH THE ANTI-GVN "STRUGGLE MOVEMENT" HAVE ENTERED THE RACE, LEAVING THE FIELD LARGELY TO THE TRADITIONAL NATIONALIST PARTIES, THE VIETNAMESE NATIONALIST PARTY (VNQDD) AND THE DAI VIET PARTY. OF THE TWO, THE VNQDD HAS BY FAR THE GREATER NUMBER OF CANDIDATES.

5. BREAKDOWN BY CONSTITUENCY:

A) DA NANG: OF SEVEN LISTS, TWO ARE MILITARY, ONE IS MADE UP OF CIVIL SERVANTS, ONE OF MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS, ONE IS IDENTIFIED WITH THE VNQDD, AND TWO ARE INDEPENDENT;

B) HUE: ONE CANDIDATE IS IDENTIFIED WITH THE DAI VIET PARTY, ONE IS AN ACTIVE MILITARY OFFICER, AND ONE IS INDEPENDENT;

C) QUANG NAM: OF SIX LISTS, THREE ARE VNQDD, ONE IS MILITARY, ONE IS PREDOMINANTLY CATHOLIC, AND ONE IS INDEPENDENT;

D) QUANG NGAI: OF SEVEN LISTS, THREE COME FROM VARIOUS FACTIONS OF THE VNQDD; TWO ARE MILITARY, ASSOCIATED WITH THE 2ND DIVISION; ONE IS APPARENTLY A CATHOLIC-BUDDHIST-CAO DAI COALITION; AND ONE IS INDEPENDENT;

E) QUANG TIN: OF FOUR LISTS, ONE IS CATHOLIC, ONE IS MILITARY, ONE IS AN "OFFICIAL" VNQDD LIST, AND THE FOURTH IS NOMINALLY INDEPENDENT BUT IDENTIFIED WITH THE VNQDD;

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-3- SECTION ONE OF TWO SAIGON 1882, JULY 25

F) QUANG TRI: OF FIVE LISTS, ONE IS DAI VIET, ONE IS VNQDD, ONE IS "RENEGADE" VNQDD, ONE IS INDEPENDENT, AND ONE SEEMS TO BE ANTI-DAI VIET; AND IN

G) THUA THIEN: OF THREE LISTS, ONE IS VNQDD, ONE IS INDEPENDENT WITH SOME VNQDD TIES, AND THE THIRD IS DAI VIET.

6. OCCUPATIONAL LISTING OF I CORPS CANDIDATES (ALTERNATES OMITTED)

TEACHERS/PROFESSORS (MAINLY PRIVATE)	19
CIVIL SERVANTS	14
FARMERS	13
ACTIVE-DUTY ARVN	13

BUSINESSMEN, MERCHANTS	8
RETIRED CIVIL SERVANTS	6
RETIRED MILITARY PERSONNEL	3
LAWYERS	2
PROVINCIAL/MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS	2
"NOTABLES"	2
PRIVATE EMPLOYEE	1
ORIENTAL PHYSICIAN	1
STUDENT	1
HOUSEWIFE	1
JOURNALIST	1
UNDETERMINED	1

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7. SAIGON (POST-SCREENING)

SIXTEEN SEATS ARE AT STAKE IN THE CAPITAL. THERE WERE ORIGINALLY 39 LISTS, BUT THIS NUMBER HAD SHRUNK TO 26 BY THE TIME THE SCREENING BEGAN. FOUR OF THESE LISTS WERE DISQUALIFIED, THREE FOR LACK OF SUFFICIENT DOCUMENTATION AND THE FOURTH BECAUSE ONE OF ITS MEMBERS ALLEGEDLY HAD COMMUNIST CONNECTIONS. (EMBT 1641) OF THE 22 REMAINING

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-4- SECTION ONE OF TWO SAIGON 1882, JULY 25

LISTS, THERE ARE SEVEN IN THE FIRST ELECTORAL DISTRICT (DISTRICTS 1, 2 AND 3), WHICH HAS FIVE SEATS; FIVE LISTS IN THE SECOND ELECTORAL DISTRICT (DISTRICTS 4, 6, 7 AND 8), WHICH HAS SIX SEATS; AND TEN LISTS IN THE THIRD ELECTORAL DISTRICT (DISTRICT 5 -- CHOLON), WHICH HAS FIVE SEATS.

THERE ARE NO SIGNIFICANT PARTY IDENTIFICATIONS AMONG THE SAIGON CANDIDATES. WE DO NOT YET HAVE SUFFICIENT INFORMATION TO DETERMINE THE PREVALENCE OF RELIGIOUS LISTS. SOME OF THE LISTS ARE BUILT AROUND PROMINENT PERSONALITIES, ALL OF WHOM SURVIVED THE SCREENING: THEY INCLUDE PHAN KHAC SUU AND DANG VAN SUNG, BOTH RUNNING IN THE FIRST ELECTORAL DISTRICT, AND LA THANH NGHE, FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE PREFECTORAL COUNCIL, WHO HAS TWO SLATES RUNNING IN THE SECOND ELECTORAL DISTRICT.

9. OF THE 115 CANDIDATES AND 23 ALTERNATES INCLUDED ON THE 22 LISTS, 57 WERE BORN IN NORTH VIETNAM, 71 IN SOUTH VIETNAM, NINE IN CENTRAL VIETNAM, AND ONE DID NOT SPECIFY HIS PLACE OF BIRTH. LODGE

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SUBJ: CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION

10. OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN (INCLUDING ALTERNATES)

BUSINESSMEN	36
TEACHERS/PROFESSORS/STUDENTS	28
CITY COUNCILLORS	12
RETIRED PERSONS	10
CIVIL SERVANTS	10
DOCTORS/NURSES	8
JOURNALISTS	8
"NOTABLES" AND "POLITICIANS"	7
ARVN OFFICERS	6
LABOR UNION OFFICIALS/WORKERS	6
LAWYERS	3
ARTISTS, ESSAYISTS, ECT.	2
ENGINEER	1
PHARMACIST	1

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11. GIA DINH (PRE-SCREENING)

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SIXTEEN LISTS FILED FOR THE 10 SEATS AT STAKE (FIVE IN EACH OF TWO ELECTORAL DISTRICTS). FIFTEEN OF THE LISTS INCLUDED FIVE PRINCIPAL CANDIDATES; ONE LIST, WHICH HAS NO DOUBT BEEN DISQUALIFIED, HAD ONLY ONE NAME; AND 20 ALTERNATE CANDIDATES WERE NAMED ON VARIOUS LISTS.

12. AGAIN, THERE ARE NO CLEAR PARTY GROUPINGS THAT WE CAN IDENTIFY, AND WE DO NOT YET HAVE INFORMATION ON THE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE CANDIDATES. THE "NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC BLOC" LED BY DR. PHAN QUANG DAN HAS A LIST IN EACH CONSTITUENCY.

13. OF THE 76 CANDIDATES AND 21 ALTERNATES, 53 WERE BORN IN NORTH VIETNAM, 32 IN SOUTH VIETNAM, SEVEN IN CENTRAL VIETNAM, ONE IN CAMBODIA, AND FOUR DID NOT SPECIFY THEIR BIRTHPLACES.

14. OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN (INCLUDING ALTERNATES)

BUSINESSMEN, MERCHANTS	25
ARVN OFFICERS	11
TEACHERS/PROFESSORS	10
PROVINCIAL COUNCILLORS	9
RETIRED PERSONS	9
CIVIL SERVANTS	8
DOCTORS/NURSES	6
LAWYERS (ALL ON ONE LIST)	5
LABOR UNION OFFICIALS, WORKERS	3
HOUSEWIVES	3
JOURNALISTS	2
ARTISTS, ESSAYISTS, ETC.	2
PHARMACISTS	2
ENGINEER	1
"NOTABLE"	1

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15. FIRST REPORT ON RESULT OF SCREENING IN I CORPS HAS COME FROM DANANG. LIST MADE UP OF TWO MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS WAS DISQUALIFIED BECAUSE POLICE RECORDS INDICATE BOTH WERE INVOLVED IN RECENT ANTI-GVN STRUGGLE ACTIVITY. ONE OF THE TWO INDEPENDENT LISTS WAS DISQUALIFIED BECAUSE FIRST CANDIDATE EVIDENTLY HAD NOT FULFILLED MILITARY SERVICE OBLIGATIONS AND SECOND HAD BEEN DISMISSED FROM

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1. I WELCOME YOUR DESIRE IN PARAGRAPH 4 TO KEEP CRITICISM OF VIETNAM "IN FOCUS" AND I SENSE THAT THIS BADLY NEEDS TO BE DONE.

2. OBVIOUSLY VIETNAM IS NOT A COUNTRY WITH A LONG ANGLO-SAXON TRADITION OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, POPULATED BY PEOPLE OF PREDOMINANTLY EUROPEAN DESCENT FROM COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE HAD MUCH EXPERIENCE WITH SELF-GOVERNMENT. THIS IS AN ORIENTAL COUNTRY WHICH FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL HAS BEEN RULED IN AN AUTHORITARIAN WAY AND THE PREDOMINANT NOTION IN VIETNAM STILL IS THAT OF RESPECT FOR AUTHORITY. UNTIL QUITE RECENTLY, IT HAS NOT OCCURRED TO THEM THAT AN ELECTION IS A GOOD WAY TO DECIDE AN IMPORTANT MATTER.

3. WE SHOULD NOT EXPECT VIETNAM TO PERFORM IN AS ORDERLY AND SOPHISTICATED A WAY AS NATIONS WHERE THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS HAS

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LONG BEEN ESTABLISHED - LET ALONE MORE SO.

4. SOME OF THE CRITICISMS WHICH YOU CITE SEEM TO ME TO BE PREMATURE TO SAY THE LEAST. FOR EXAMPLE:

A. THE INFORMATION WHICH WE RECEIVED THIS MORNING DOES NOT INDICATE A PREDOMINANCE OF MILITARY CANDIDATES, ALTHOUGH WE WILL NOT KNOW UNTIL AUGUST 12.

B. WE SEE NO SIGN OF LARGE SCALE BOYCOTT OF ELECTIONS. I DO NOT CONSIDER THAT QUYNH REPRESENTS A "KEY" GROUP.

C. I KNOW OF NO "NEUTRALIST" EXCLUSION WHICH WOULD ELIMINATE CRITICS AND, FRANKLY, I WOULD BE MUCH MORE WORRIED BY A FAILURE

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-2- SAIGON 1895, JULY 26

TO EXCLUDE PEOPLE WHO OBVIOUSLY WANT TO TURN THE COUNTRY OVER TO NORTH VIETNAM. IT IS HARD AT THIS END TO UNDERSTAND WHY THE WASHINGTON PRESS (AS DISTINCT FROM THE PRESS HERE) AND CONGRESS DON'T WORRY A LITTLE BIT ABOUT THAT.

5. NOR DO I SEE THAT VALID CRITICISM CAN BE MADE OF A REFUSAL TO GIVE THE PLANNED ASSEMBLY ANY LEGISLATIVE POWER, ASSUMING THIS IS REFUSED. ON THE CONTRARY, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT TO GIVE LEGISLATIVE POWER TO AN ASSEMBLY ELECTED FOR THE PURPOSE OF DRAWING A CONSTITUTION IS SOMEWHAT A FRAUD ON THE VOTER. EVEN IF IT WERE MAINTAINED THAT THIS WOULD BE A GOOD THING TO DO FOR PRACTICAL

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REASONS - AND IT MAY BE - IT IS THEORETICALLY QUITE INDEFENSIBLE. WHEN A VOTER ELECTS A DELEGATE TO A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, HE DOES IT ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THAT DELEGATE WILL DRAFT A CONSTITUTION AND NOT THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION WILL THEN BECOME A SORT OF "MINIUM GATHERUM" WHICH CONSIDERS ITSELF QUALIFIED TO PASS ON THE WHOLE RANGE OF LEGISLATIVE QUESTIONS. IF THIS WAS TO BE A GENERALIZED LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, WHY WERE NOT THE VOTERS TOLD SO?

6. WE ARE LEAVING NO STONE UNTURNED TO BRIEF AND BACKGROUND AND TO REPORT.

7. AS YOU WILL SEE FROM MY TALK WITH DO ON JULY 25 HE THINKS THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT THIS ASSEMBLY WILL ACTUALLY ELECT THE NEW PRESIDENT AND THAT THERE WILL NOT BE A POPULAR ELECTION.

8. WE ARE CERTAINLY IN FOR SOME ROUGH WEATHER AND THE FIRST STEPS FOR US IN SAIGON AND IN WASHINGTON ARE TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE PRESS AND TO CONGRESS THAT VIETNAM SHOULD NOT BE JUDGED BY AMERICAN STANDARDS. WE SHOULD ALSO EMPHASIZE THAT CHARGES OF OVERLOADING LISTS WITH MILITARY ARE INCORRECT (AT THIS POINT WE HAVE IDENTIFIED 6 IN SAIGON OUT OF 138, 11 OUT OF 97 IN GIA DINH AND IN I CRPS 13 OUT OF 88); THAT PHYSICAL ARRANGEMENTS ARE NOW IN HANDS OF GENERAL THANG WHO HAS INTERIOR MINISTRY AND WHO IS KNOWN FOR HIS INTEGRITY; THAT MY GOVERNMENT HAS INVITED UNITED NATIONS, DIPLOMATIC CORPS, AND ENORMOUS PRESS CORPS TO OBSERVE PROCESS FREELY WHICH IS HARDLY ACTION OF GROUP WHICH INTENDS RIGGING THINGS TO PLEASE ITSELF. LODGE
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NOTE: ADVANCE COPY TO S/S-O AT 1:12 A.M. JULY 26, 1966

PASSED WHITE HOUSE, DOD, CIA, USIA, NSA, 7/26/66 - 1:12 A.M.

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